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ABSTRACT

With the growing politicization of education, the increasing number of educational reports and commissions, the growing interdependence of nations and their economic systems, this paper explores which factors normally shape education systems. Specifically, it identifies the extraneous and international forces shaping the intellectual agenda and the educational agenda. These forces have also helped to reduce the political and financial capacities of national and local governments to control their own education systems. Part 1 discusses some of the global influences that affect all education systems and shows how they shape the agenda and inform opinion. These influences include changing ideas about the nature and role of the state; the impact of supranational organizations; changing economic patterns; and demographic trends. Part 2 identifies international trends in educational policies and developments, and their implications for education. Changes in administration and education are examined, as well as the quality of academic standards. Whether it is possible to forecast developments into the next century at this stage remains a moot point in terms of educational policies, but not in terms of economic and demographic predictions. Three figures and four tables are included. (LMI)

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EDUCATIONAL PROVISION FOR THE 21st CENTURY; WHO OR WHAT IS SHAPING THE AGENDA AND INFLUENCING DEVELOPMENTS?

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Abstract

Educational Provision for the 21st Century - Who or what is shaping the agenda and influencing developments?

With the growing politicisation of education, the increasing number of educational reports and commissions, the growing interdependence of nations and their economic systems this paper seeks to explore what factors normally shape education systems, but above all what extraneous and international forces are shaping the intellectual agenda and, consequently, the educational agenda. Some of these are ideas, some of them are economic or demographic trends. Because of the growing economic interdependence of nation states, the growth of supranational bodies such as the European Community, the North American Free Trade Agreement and the Association of South East Asian Nations, the penetration of the media even to the remotest parts of the world, many external influences are shaping the economic and educational agendas of nation States, especially smaller, poorer or weaker ones. Not least amongst these organisations shaping the agenda are the World Bank and the IMF. In the first part of the paper some of the issues arising from these global trends will be discussed. In the second part an attempt will be made to identify some of the educational implications to see if discernible international trends can be identified in educational policies or developments. Whether it is possible to forecast developments into the next century at this stage remains a moot point in terms of educational policies, but not in terms of economic and demographic predictions.

Introduction

The beginning of the 20th Century saw the development of the nation state as the 'natural' focal point for government and the control of peoples. Increasingly minority groups, whether ethnic, linguistic or religious, were subjugated within the geographical boundaries of the nation state. Indeed many would argue that the 20th Century has been 'the age of the nation state'. Now, as we come to the end of the 20th and approach the 21st Century, the concept of the nation state is coming under threat from a variety of sources.

These changes have major implications for the provision of public education systems, since these have hitherto developed with one major purpose being to develop a sense of national identity and mass allegiance to the concept of the nation state. This applies as equally to France, Italy, Japan, the former Soviet Union and the USA, as it does to countries like Botswana, Cameroon, Kenya, Nigeria and Pakistan; though it is questionable how far this approach ever applied to the United Kingdom.

At one level supranational organisations are beginning to threaten the viability and sovereignty of the state; at another, regional economic groupings such as the European (Economic) Community, now more ususally known as the European Union, the Association of South East Asian Nations, the North American Free Trade Agreement, or SADDEC, or the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, involve a degree of economic and political cooperation normally only experienced during periods of war. Multinational corporations, whose economic interests transcend national boundaries and global communications networks, which can bypass traditional routes of authority and decision making are further threatening the concept of the nation state. Moreover the 'concept' of the state is being questioned at a theoretical level, especially by writers in the Western World who would call themselves 'postmodernists' or 'antistatists', while on the ground in many societies there is a resurgence of minority groups, especially along gender,

linguistic and religious lines, who are demanding special rights, positive discrimination and, above all, recognition.

All these changes have profound implications for the provision of public education systems.

Inevitably, however, there is a growing 'globalisation' of educational issues between the North, and the South. The media, economic forces, the convergence of ideas, financial problems, the impact of international conferences and organisations all have a bearing on the developments that are taking place within individual countries. Yet we live in an increasingly interdependent world. We cannot restrict debates about education to purely nationalistic concerns when the most important and pressing issues of our time are so patently of global dimensions.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, at the beginning of this conference on Education for the 21st Century, is to seek to identify and explore some of those extraneous influences that are impingeing upon, and influencing all education systems and to show in what ways they are shaping the agenda and informing opinion. In the second part of the paper an attempt will be made to identify a few common trends and developments in education across the world.

I. EXTRANEOUS INFLUENCES SHAPING EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

Never before has education been so high on the political agenda of so many countries. Throughout much of the 1980s and early 1990s education in the United Kingdom has been in a state of turmoil (Flude and Hammer, 1990; Maclure, 1990). Following publication of the damning National Commission on Excellence in Education report 'A Nation At Risk',in the USA there have been papers, conferences, commissions and endless debates about the state of education in that country (Massaro, 1993). In 1988 the government established a Board on International Comparative Studies in Education with financial backing from The National Science Foundation, the US department of Education and the US

Department of Defence with the express purpose of developing 'a comprehensive plan for US participation in international studies' so that lessons learnt from other societies may inform US policy makers and help raise educational standards. In 1986 the National Policy on Education in India finally laid down a blueprint for the next twenty years, clearly demarcating responsibilities between the Union (central) government and State governments. In 1991 Papua New Guinea undertook a major Education Sector Review which has aroused considerable comment and criticism (Avalos, 1992; 0'Donoghue, 1994). The long awaited report of the commission looking into Botswana's National Policy on Education, finally appeared in 1994 (Botswana, 1994). Many other countries have been similarly engaged in producing reports on the state of their education systems.

A comparative education society conference audience hardly needs reminding of Sir Michael Sadler's words to an audience in Guildford in 1900 that 'what goes on outside school is far more important than what goes on inside because it influences and shapes what goes on inside' (Sadler, 1900, cited in Higginson, 1979) but, sadly, politicians and international agency bureaucrats need to be reminded of this periodically (See Chart 1). Education is context specific; therefore developments can never be exactly the same in any two countries. Ideas can be transferred across cultures and across education systems, but systems and models, which are based on very different principles, assumptions and philosophy, cannot be satisfactorily transplanted from one country to another. We have seen the failure of too many colonial transplants in post independent countries to recognise this. This is one reason why it is not possible to transplant the highly successful Japanese academic system, based as it is on rigid discipline, cultural norms of social stratification and obedience to particular groups, intense personal competition in examinations yet with group cooperation and identity (White 1987). The Malaysian government has realised this to its cost as its Look East Policy has significantly failed. This is also why the World Bank's (1994) recent paper on Higher Education advocating greater privitization of higher education, but modelled on developments in East Asia and Latin America cannot easily be extended to the Arab World or Sub Saharan Africa (Watson, 1994a).

Nevertheless, never before have we been so aware of global trends; of a 'world system' of ideas in education, often pedalled by UNESCO and other international agencies such as the World Bank and UNICEF. Marshall McLuhan used to talk of 'the global village' and some visionaries now think that the world's similarities are overshadowing the cultural differences (Porter, 1984). Roberts (1985) has argued, in his the Triumph of the West, that the spread of Western ideas and technology is now all pervading throughout the world, although Kennedy (1993) would disagree as he sees the technological rise of the countries of the Pacific Rim dominating economic developments well into the 21st Century using their technological know how, especially in the field of microchip technology and robotics. Toffler (1990) in his Power Shift has argued that the single most important development affecting all nation states into the next century is the growth of information technology, FAXes, electronic mail, videophones etc. because this means that decisions, ideas, new discoveries and policy options taken in one country can be faxed or teleprinted through to another in minutes thus bypassing the traditional routes like government to government links or normal diplomatic channels.

That every nation state, large or small, North or South, is enmeshed by a web of extraneous factors and influences can best be illustrated by Chart 2. As Sadler (cited in Higginson, 1979) also said in a far sighted speech, Great tidal movements of economic or spiritual change sweep over the world with irresistible force...What the school (and the teachers) can do is to bend all in their powers to the task of understanding the inner significance of each new and perturbing movement.... whether these come in the form of ideas, the resurgence of fundamentalist religious beliefs, such as Islam, or changing economic structures which affect patterns of employment. It is to some of these that I now wish to turn.

(1) Changing Ideas about the nature and role of the State

It is never easy to pinpoint where ideas originate - from academic journals, influential books such as Dore's (1976) The Diploma Disease, conferences etc - but

they filter through into the public domain via the media - the press, TV, radio, journals; via international conferences such as Jomtien (Education for All), Rio (the Earth Summit), Cairo (Population Control), or further back, the 1960s UNESCO Regional Conferences which set targets for Universal Primary Education, or the 1976 UNESCO Conference on Technical and Vocational Education for Africa; or they are disseminated through the literature of multilateral organisations, especially the World Bank. Crucial amongst these debates of recent years have been those relating to postmodernism, anti-Statism, individual choice, market forces, privatization, decentralization and localisation.

We are currently witnessing a global process, which, though it began in the West, has spread to the East (Lincicome, 1993) to the former Soviet Union and now to many countries of the South. The contexts may differ but the common element is the criticism of the role of the state in economic development and the belief that only through greater use of market mechanisms can the world economy hope to grow again. As Dearlove and White (1987,m p.1) have argued: 'Current orthodoxies highlight the inadequacies of political solutions and argue for a reduction in the role of the State'. Economic liberalism and outright privatisation have been central features of the economic debate. The belief that governments cannot respond quickly enough to technological change is well illustrated by the privatization of public utilities in the UK (See for example Baker, 1993, Chapters 3 and 4) but it is compounded in Less Developed Countries where governments are faced by multiple crises of debt, social deterioration,economic decline, government inefficiency or incompetence.

The original ideas hinge on the concepts of 'modernism' and 'postmodernism'. According to Bell (1990), for the past 200 years we have lived in the 'modern' period based on Ford's principles of industrialization and Taylor's principles of scientific management. In political terms this has involved rational and technical decisions being taken by administrators in the name of efficiency. The result has been an interventionist, regulatory state with large public sector bureaucracies (Habermas, 1989). In educational terms attitudes towards modernism and

modernization have been conveyed through the school curricula, formal or hidden. The extreme form of this view was possibly advocated by Inkeles and Smith (1974). However, since the 1960s and increasingly during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s we have seen the growth of individualism, choice and the breakdown of state controls. Social scientists have described this process as 'postmodernism'. This has been variously called 'late capitalism' (Giddens, (1991)), disorganised capitalism (Offe, 1985) or flexible capitalism (Harvey, 1989). It is seen as a reaction against the rigidities of Fordist production processes and in the inflexibilities of bureaucracies and education systems to cope with economic globalisation. In social and cultural terms 'post modernism is increasingly devoid of moral and aesthetic standards: it is self centred and consumerist' (Hartley, 1994, p.233). In educational terms, especially in the UK, New Zealand and Australia, and parts of the USA and Canada, these changes have led to moves to develop free standing autonomous schools, to have parents redefined as consumers or clients, and schools as businesses, free to market themselves in a competitive market. By encouraging parental choice, involving parents on school governing bodies and encouraging 'ownership' and 'partnership' the concept of a state system of education in many countries is rapidly breaking down.

That this is not universally true can be seen from evidence submitted to the Commonwealth Secretariat for the 12th Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers to be held in Islamabad, at the end of November 1994. Botswana, Lesotho, Tonga and Bermuda would all maintain that in their situations the government's role in education has become, if anything, stronger in recent years. According to the Commonwealth Secretariat (1994): A striking feature of the situation in several Commonwealth countries is that they report the direction of change towards increasing the capacity of government to regulate education activity, rather than the reverse. This challenges the rather glib assumption...that all countries are or should be on the same track towards decentralization

Nevertheless, with regard to the developing countries of the world two schools of thought have been in contention in the field of socio economic development for the

past thirty years - 'the political development' school and the 'dependency' school. The first gained ascendancy as a result of the failure of market led capitalist economies during the 1930s and led to the re-constructionist views of the 1940s and 1950s whereby the state was perceived as the key player in economic intervention. Writers like Balogh, Myrdal and Singer argued that because of successful state intervention in post war Europe, the survival of many post independent LDCs was only possible with high levels of state intervention in economic development and that only through state control of educational investment could societies be transformed from 'traditional' to 'modern' ones. This became the orthodoxy of the 1960s and beyond.

The second school of thought emphasized dependency between nations and within nations with the powerful dominating and influencing the weaker elements. It was based on a Marxist critique of class and society. Unfortunately if failed to explain the rise of the newly industrialising countries or the return of liberal democracies such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile and India.

The weaknesses of both approaches, however, were that they analysed development from western political perspectives, they failed to take into account the enormous diversity within the Third World countries and they failed to recognise the range of flexible solutions pertaining to Africa and Asia. (See for example Chambers, 1992; Dutkiewicz and Williams, 1987; Kaviraj, 1990). Moreover, what all the theorists and analysts failed to take into account was that governments of newly independent states would spend so much effort and cash on keeping themselves in power.

However, the current economic and debt crisis facing many LDCs has brought about an almost complete reversal in the orthodoxy of state intervention and state control (Statism). On the assumption that, far from being accountable to the public, the growth of state bureaucracy has led to corruption, waste and inefficiency bodies such as the IMF and the World Bank have 'produced overwhelming pressures (on LDC governments) to reduce the role of the State' (Brett, 1987) and to reassert the values of free trade, market forces, and the reduction of central controls and

direction over the economy and other aspects of society, including education. The beginning of this approach could be noticed in the Berg Report (World Bank, 1981; Jones, 1992) but by the 1980s there was, in any case, already a body of literature which was highly critical of 'statist' experiments such as India, Indonesia and Pakistan and which extolled the success of economically liberal societies, such as Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, Mexico and Brazil. Certainly by the time the World Bank produced its Improving the Quality of Primary Schools in Developing Countries (Lockheed and Verspoor, 1990) and its more recent Higher Education (1994) paper it had moved a long way towards advocating a 'laissez-faire' free-market approach. However, as Dearlove, has argued although 'public choice theorists tend to be pro-market and anti-state' their fundamental argument 'is less about the worth of individuals than about the defence of a system of market power that should be left untouched by state intervention' (1987, p.10). Yet 'without adequate political intervention market forces are bound to generate inequalities, dislocation and exploitation which will have devastating effects on the integrity of society as a whole' (Brett, op.cit, p.37). Similar views have been expressed by Schluter and Lee (1993) with regard to the breakdown of communities.

(2) The impact of supranational organisations

The outworking of some of these ideas, as already alluded to, is through the growing role of international organisations, such as the UN, the World Bank, UNDP, and the IMF, and through the role of supranational groupings such as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the European Community (EC). How far do individual states and governments lose control and influence over their own affairs because of their surrender of sovereignty to these larger groupings? Much of the anti-European feeling in England and Wales is because of the realisation that, slowly, national sovereignty is being eroded by legislation emanating from Brussels. The same pattern will begin to apply elsewhere. But there are also other supranational bodies that also need to be considered - eg. the media empires of Hollywood and Rupert

Murdoch's Sky TV, as well as international banking and financial corporations. One American writer (McGinn, 1994) has gone so far as to argue that in the next century there will be little national decision making: it will largely be globally or internationally based.

In what ways, therefore, are these organisations helping to shape the agenda? They operate according to a different set of values from those prevailing in most individual countries. They are international and global, not national; they are irreligious as opposed to religious; they are concerned with efficiency and effectiveness as defined by unelected, unaccountable, international bureaucrats. It has been argued that the ability of the nation state to limit information or even to reproduce itself through the school curriculum is being undermined (Drucker, 1993; McGinn, 1994; Toffler, 1990; Wriston, 1992). Satellite TV programmes are now beamed across national frontiers, films and videos have a global appeal, irrespective of language; and music pop stars are marketed around the world by multinational corporations. The idols of the young are more likely to be international football stars, Madonna or Michael Jackson than they are to be national figures. Traditional national cultural values are being undermined by international marketing. The knock-on effect into the classroom is considerable.

It has been suggested that multilateral and transnational corporations are destabilising nation states in various ways. They set the agenda for common markets and free trade agreements. They control the right to wage war or not, whether in the Gulf, Somalia, Bosnia, Cambodia or Haiti. They control the money markets and can bring pressures on individual currencies such that devaluation becomes inevitable or governments are overthrown. Increasingly, the right or ability of governments to plan their manpower projections or to decide on which industrial plants should be located where are being undermined by multinational corporations which place factories wherever labour costs are cheapest or wherever access to raw materials is easiest, irrespective of national boundaries. Plants can be closed or opened at the whim, not of governments, but of corporation board rooms many thousand of miles away. To develop this argument , showing the impact on

educational policies it is worth exploring the role of aid agencies in setting the educational agendas over the past few decades, and the effects of structural adjustment on governments' current capacity to manage education systems.

Educational Agendas. There seems little doubt that UNESCO, the World Bank, the Swedish International Development Agency, and other bilateral bodies, have profoundly shaped the educational development thinking of many governments in Africa, Asia and Latin America over recent decades because they have laid down conditions under which loans have been offered , they have used foreign consultants, they have persuaded governments to pursue certain policies (King, 1993). 'By they' I mean the bureaucrats of Washington, Paris or Geneva who make decisions that shape the lives of millions of people in individual countries with which they may be only vaguely aware. This becomes apparent if we note how the educational agenda has moved during the past thirty to forty years (Watson, 1988). During the 1950s emphasis was on literacy and UPE. During the 1960s it moved to secondary and tertiary level expansion, curriculum development, teacher training. In the 1970s the switch was towards non formal education, linked with rural development and community schooling. At the same time we saw a thrust towards vocational education and diversified schooling which persisted throughout the 1980s. Now in the 1990s we have moved back towards Education for All. The difference now, though, is that multilateral agencies are imposing their own monetary agenda of structural adjustment, while the bilateral agencies are insisting on what has become known as political conditionality (ODI, 1992).

The pressure on governments in Africa and Latin America to diversify their school curricula, with emphasis on technical and vocational skill training or to create vocational/technical secondary schools has been particularly strong (Lauglo and Lillis, 1988 ; Watson, 1994b). The result has been that many hard pressed governments have been forced to divert funds from primary education to vocational education, Kenya's 30 specialist vocational schools have absorbed disproportionate amounts of funding to the extent that primary schools have been deprived of funds thanks to pressure from the ILO and SIDA (Foster, 1987; Sifuna, 1992).

Botswana, Malawi, Tanzania and Zimbabwe have all been influenced in a similar way. Why? Because by the late 1970s, inspired by a UNESCO conference held in 1976, many African countries had become convinced that

> African states should provide a new form of education so as to establish close ties between the school and work: such an education based on work and with work in mind should break the barrier of prejudice which exists between manual and intellectual labour, between theory and practice, between town and country....and therefore productive practical work should generally be introduced in school, offering technical and vocational courses, whether at primary, secondary or tertiary levels (UNESCO/NEIDA 1982)

By the 1980s 40% of multilateral assistance to education from the World Bank was going to VOCED, averaging $600m p.a. (World Bank, 1991). Barely 5% was going to the primary level. Now the World Bank has recognised the folly of its ways thanks to some highly critical work undertaken by Pscharopoulos 1985, 1991), but many governments, now committed to expanding VOCED have no easy means of backtracking.

Recognition that the costs of education are constantly rising, that demands are increasing but that budgets are either finite or declining, has led many agencies to advocate privatization of education, especially at secondary and tertiary levels, in such areas as services, maintenance and buildings. Apart from saving public funds they have argued that private education is more efficient, it is more accountable and it will lead to better standards. That the data used for these views are highly selective is immaterial. Along with privatization are pressures to decentralise decision making and to devolve managerial responsibility to local levels. There are financial implications to these arguments which will be developed subsequently. There seems to be little doubt, however, that the privatization of large sectors of education systems will continue well into the 21st Century.

Because many of the aid agency loans for both economic and educational development were given at particular rates of interest, which an increasing number of countries are finding impossible to repay, given the global economic depression

or the decline in demand, and price, for their basic export commodities, there is a growing debt crisis facing many of the world's poorest countries. The total external debt of the developing countries increased from about $650 billion in 1980 to $1356 billion in 1990. 57% of this debt rests with 20 countries headed by Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, India and Egypt. However, the real impact is to be felt in Sub-Saharan Africa where the current debt is over $150 billion. (See Table 1). Ideally the only solution is to waive the debts entirely or to drastically reduce the sums owed; since the problem of international indebtedness will continue well into the 21st Century. Unfortunately, few donors have entertained this scenario. Instead they have developed a policy, euphemistically called Structural Adjustment, whereby the international agencies, most notably the IMF and the World Bank, have set aside funds to encourage LDC governments to create their own development priorities, to establish their own bureaucratic infrastructures so that they can effectively control and monitor sectoral developments. In return for these 'adjustments' additional loans are made available. Unfortunately, there are a number of the poorest countries where the infrastructure is so inadequate that external bodies are having to help dictate the policies which they perceive to be of crucial importance. An example of this is the $900 million programme being spearheaded by the World Bank, along with several other agencies, to introduce UPE in North West Pakistan by the end of the decade. This is the largest single aid programme ever undertaken, but it is being imposed from the outside.

Another piece of the jigsaw is that as multilateral agencies have been insisting on structural adjustment programmes bilateral aid donors have begun to insist on political conditionality, as a prerequisite for receiving new, or increased, technical assistance. The conditionality is that of 'good government' - ie. sound economic policies based on free markets; competence of government and bureaucratic structures; pluralistic democratic political systems; respect for human rights; and respect for the rule of law. This is not new, as Mosley (1987) has shown, but it does mean that the direction in which nation states must move, as we go towards the 21st century is being dictated by external forces.

3. Changing Economic Patterns

Many of the above developments can only be understood in the light of changing economic patterns, some of which have already been alluded to. The economic changes of the past 40 years have been profound; those of the past 20 years have begun to reshape the world of the future (Kennedy, 1993). This is bound to be reflected in the education systems of the world, for as Ilon (1994) argues, 'a global system of economics is establishing a new set of rules and public policy is, de facto, being set by such rules'.

Firstly, are the changes brought about through the growth of money markets, helped by the revolution in information technology (Drucker, 1993). All the world's stock exchanges are closely interlinked so that what happens in Wall Street, London, Paris, Hong Kong or Tokyo influences financial markets elsewhere. The power of the financial dealers and the Stock brokers is now so awesome that they can force governments to revalue, to withdraw from the European Exchange Rate Mechanism, as happened with Britain in 1992, to spend billions of dollars to sustain their exchange rates. Of the industralised countries, apart from the UK, Denmark, France, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Portugal and the USA have all been adversely affected over the past few years. Money so wasted cannot be spent on social welfare or education programmes.

Secondly, one of the most striking economic developments of recent years has been the relative decline of the old industrial nations compared with many of the East Asian and Pacific Region countries. (See Table 2). Ever since the rise of oil prices in 1973 the industrialised nations have faced recession, with occasional bursts of growth, unemployment and inflation. These have fluctuated but have nevertheless measured the decline of Europe and North America, compared with the phenomenal growth of the four 'Asian Tigers', Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan, as well as countries such as Botswana and China. The impact of the economic penetration of these countries into the European and North American markets has been profound. Over 25% of manufactured goods available in Europe

come from the NICs, with the inevitable impact on labour markets. Countries of Africa and Latin America, traditionally linked into European economies have been also adversely affected, leading, thirdly to the problems arising from structural adjustment. As Ilon (op.cit) has argued, structural adjustment is not necessarily a policy externally imposed by the World Bank and the IMF but it is a process that grows out of a large global system of economic exchange, albeit advantaging groups differentially with inevitable economic and educational responses.

As national economies become enmeshed in global trading and manufacturing patterns, they have to 'adjust' their economies to compete with world markets. Inevitably poorer countries suffer the most. Those that become part of larger regional groups - the EC, NAFTA, ASEAN etc.stand to benefit most, or at least, to withstand some of the trading difficulties encountered by isolationist countries such as Myanmar. However, international competitiveness may mean that employers resist government attempts to introduce health and safety at work legislation or minimum wages or gender inequality legislation if this means higher wage costs. They will also certainly be opposed to increased taxation for education if this again adds to labour costs bills. Many governments are thus finding themselves cutting back on school budgets, as well as other social welfare budgets, in order to ensure some international competitiveness.

As national boundaries give way to pressure of a global economy so does the concept of community identity (Schluter and Lee, 1993). For some, helped by the media revolution and global travel, they have become citizens of the world. For others, because of poverty, they become enmeshed in surviving, often at no more than subsistence level, in their own local communities. Because they have no access to modern transportation their place in the global community becomes even more restricted.

What does this mean for schooling? Just as multilateral organisations are encouraging some privatization of educational provision, or the introduction of user fees to ease the burden on the Exchequer so there are pressures from the wealthy

professional classes, to expand private schooling, in the belief that these schools will open up opportunities at a global/international level. The curriculum will emphasise languages, computer skills, information sciences, analytical skills as well as some of the more traditional subjects. The International Schools, European Schools and the United World Colleges are all examples of these developments.

Because of pressures form the middle classes in societies, who do not aspire to international status, but who see that they have a role to service industry, multinational corporations and the like within their own countries, they will press for higher academic standards, better provision of facilities , curricula relevant to their needs etc. Many will be prepared to make additional financial contributions, either through fees, or through practical contributions. Finally, at the bottom of the heap, will come poor quality schooling for the poor.

According to Ilon (op.cit.p.99).

> Professions will be divided between those that are globally competitive but where mastery and competence are highly valued; and jobs where global competition means that people with limited and low level skills are competing on a world market of others with similar backgrounds. In order to attract businesses which need these types of workers, nations will still have to provide a minimum level of public education, but that education need not go much further than literacy, numeracy and the discipline and tolerance that comes with being in a structured environment. Ironically, curriculum for the poor will also take on a global flavour as job skills become similar and basic needs and problems become globalised

Is this a nightmare scenario, or realistic? It certainly gives food for thought. If it is true that The overwhelming evidence now suggests that comparative economic advantage results from a shift in favour of knowledge; its creation, acquisition, manipulation and application. This now constitutes the basis of international competition (Smith, 1993) then only those countries whose school systems are going to address the issues arising from new technologies, are likely to survive. This means fourthly, therefore, a serious rethink about what constitutes a relevant curriculum. Is it simply the basic subjects of language, literacy, numeracy, science,

civics, religious education etc. or is it the basics of numeracy and literacy, together with analytical skills, understanding of information technology and other technologies. So far few governments have really addressed this issue: only the private sector has done so in any meaningful way.

What few governments have felt able to address, however, is the rapid development of technology. They might feel able to encourage cable or satellite TV, information technology, even medical technology, but they have not foreseen the impact on communities and everyday lives of individuals. New technologies, especially if introduced from outside with little or no consultation, can destroy existing communities, life styles, and cultural values. That has always been true, but the push button technology of CDs, walkmans, videos etc. is leading not only to growing self centredness, because each individual can make his or her own choice without consulting with others, but life within a community setting, whether that is a family, a neighbourhood or a village is being subtly eroded. The implications, already apparent in most industralised societies, are frightening. Schools must begin to address the values underlying so many current technological developments if they are to help prevent rapid social disintegration.

4. Demographic Trends

Lastly, no analysis of extraneous influences affecting education systems and policy making can ignore global demographic trends because these will have such a profound effect not only on relations between the North and the South but on the demands for schooling. There are some writers like Kennedy (op.cit) who have taken a decidedly Malthusian view, but educational policy makers need to recognise the implications of current growth patterns.

Population growth is not universally high. It varies enormously from small countries (geographically or in terms of population) like Botswana, Brunei, Cyprus or Lesotho, to the huge giants of China, India, Indonesia, Nigeria and Pakistan. Global population has risen from 4.2 billion (1960) to 5 billion (1992) and is

expected to reach about 6.5 billion by 2000. 90% of this growth is in the countries of the South. India and China between them will have almost 40% of the world's population by 2000 and the global figure is predicted to be about 8.5 billion by 2025. The speed of growth is staggering and with almost 50% of most LDC populations being under the age of 15 provision of school places becomes of paramount importance if UPE, let alone EFA, is to be realised. (See Tables 4 and 5).

Africa reveals the most dramatic growth patterns. In 1950 the population was half that of Europe, by 1985 it was almost equal (480 million) but by 2025 it will be three times the size. (1580 million compared with 512 million), even allowing for AIDS and other catastrophes. Nigeria could have a population of over 300 million, Kenya could rise from 25 million to 77 million and Tanzania from 27 million to 84 million by 2025 (World Bank, 1993) but with shrinking resources. In Africa, over 40% of the 6-11 year age group is still not enrolled in schools. Globally the figure is 130 million for 6-11 year olds and 277 million for 12-17 year olds. According to Colclough and Lewin (1993) simply to provide primary school places for all those children in need would require 198 million places to be found, at a staggering cost of $58 billion.

However, population growth also affects Africa in a quite specific way. Between 1985 - 2000 the growth rate of the 5 - 14 age group is expected to grow by about 5% in the developed world, by 30% in Latin America and the Caribbean but by 60% in Africa. More starkly, in developed countries one in <u>seven</u> of the population will in 2000 be in the 5-14 age group, whereas in Africa the figure will be one in <u>four</u>. Not only, therefore, is there a bigger school expansion job to be done in Africa, but there are proportionately fewer people in the working population to carry the burden of that schooling. In the year 2000 in developed countries the ratio of people aged over 19 to those aged under 19 will be71:29. In Africa it will be 45:55. So in developed countries every 100 adults will have 41 minors dependent on them, compared with 122, three times as many, in Africa. The

dependency ratio in Africa is thus extremely unfavourable..... (Williams, 1986, p.93)

But linked with overall growth are other features. In 1992 for the first time in history over 50% of the world's population lived in cities. In 1985 32% of LDC populations lived in cities. By 2000, 40% will and by 2025 57% are expected to. Put another way 1.4 billion people lived in cities in the LDCs in 1992. By 2025 4.1 billion people will. Moreover 15/21 of the world's megacities, all in the developing world, will have populations of over 15 million by 2000. Mexico City will have 24.4 million people, Sao Paulo, 23.6 million, Calcutta 16 million, Shangai 14.7 million. The social and administrative implications are frightening. It is unlikely that urban planners, let alone educational planners have fully realised the implications of these figures. In social terms the problems of street crime, child prostitution, drug abuse and the breakdown of law and order are likely to spread further than Buenos Aires, Calcutta, Mexico City, New York and Manila. How ready are school systems to cope with this problem?

Finally, there is the whole question of population migration, not only within countries but across national boundaries in search of work, or fleeing from political disorders, as we have witnessed in Rwanda and Zaire, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Economic migration has been a feature of Southern Africa for decades and has been a feature of recent economic developments in North America, Europe and Australia, but in all situations, educational planners and policy makers have always responded only when problems have become acute, especially in terms of ethnic and linguistic diversity. It is likely that migration will increase during the next decades as people seek work where it is available (Kennedy, op.cit).

One final feature related to demographic growth is that of illiteracy since this has been perceived as a major brake on socio economic development. According to UNESCO (1993) the overall number of illiterates is likely to fall from 948 million in 1990 to 935 million by 2000. However, since two-thirds of these are female the implications for the next generation in many countries are considerable. While 50%

of global illiteracy is in two countries only, India and China, and 25% is in a further eight countries (See Chart 3), sub-Saharan Africa is particularly adversely effected. It is estimated that the total number of illiterate adults is still increasing in sub-Saharan Africa, the Arab States and Southern Asia: only nine out of thirty nine sub-Saharan African countries experienced a decline in their number during the 1980s (UNESCO, ibid). This is partly because of highly complex linguistic situations but it is also because of lack of investment where it matters most - the primary level. On average for every $1 spent at the primary level over $500 are still being spent at tertiary level for far fewer students.

All the above changes and trends have been influencing the thinking of international aid agencies and exercising the collective mind of many individual governments. Many of the educational solutions being advocated for LDCs are also being adopted in HICs. It is to these that we should now turn.

II. EDUCATIONAL TRENDS

Educational reforms will vary from country to country but in the light of the above discussion it is possible to begin to identify certain trends over the past decade that are likely to continue into the next century. It is not possible to cover all of them but three areas stand out: administration, finance, standards and concerns over quality.

(1) Administrative Changes

For many years there has been heated debate about the best way to administer education systems. Should there be central direction and control, should there be decentralised direction and control, should there be centralised direction but local control? Which is the most efficient? There is obviously no clear answer that is universally applicable but just as countries like England and Wales and Australia are moving towards greater control of the curriculum and assessment on the one hand, while encouraging the local management of schools, highly centralised countries

like France, Norway, Sweden, Mexico, Pakistan and Thailand are decentralising power to the regions and even to local areas (Lauglo, 1994). Obviously the levels of decentralisation depend upon the size of the country but the pressures to decentralise are coming from UNESCO and the World Bank on the grounds that:

i. local people know the situation better than the centre;

ii. local people can acquire data better;

iii. if they are involved in the running of institutions, parents and communities will be more likely to make financial contributions towards the running of schools.

What appears to be happening in many parts of the world, therefore, is that while governments retain the overall control of the framework of the system, maybe through the curriculum, examinations and inspection, they are divesting powers for the day to day administration, decision-making, even revenue raising and employment of teachers to the local level.

This is often wrapped up in terms like parental choice, parental involvement and parental participation. In many countries parental/community involvement is one way to legitimise the education system and/or to raise additional revenue as well as to link the school into the local community. This is certainly the case in countries as disparate as Colombia, Indonesia, Nepal, Thailand and Papua New Guinea. In Bulgaria, Hungary, Canada, New Zealand and the UK, parental involvement in school governing bodies or school boards is partly to raise extra revenue but it is to ensure a degree of lay oversight of professionals in the classroom.

Inevitably, as educational responsibility is devolved to local, or even institutional level, the role of the school principal/headteacher becomes increasingly important. While for many years it was impossible to become a principal in Australia or North America without having first undertaken courses in educational administration and management, this pattern has now gained momentum in most of the Western European countries, although ironically in England and Wales, just as the head's role has grown in complexity, any attempts at compulsory training were withdrawn.

The Commonwealth Secretariat's recognition of the need for headship training in Africa can be seen in their Headship Training and Support Scheme for Africa, which is currently being developed. (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1993). To mention a few examples of decentralised school management. In 1993 Sri Lanka introduced School Development Boards. Hong Kong has developed a new School Management Initiative. Cyprus has developed School Committees. Guyana now has school boards while Botswana's community junior secondary schools theoretically have considerable local participation. The heart of the reforms in countries like Britain and New Zealand is the idea of self managing schools, though the latter has probably gone further than any other country in recent years in this direction. This is a trend that is likely to continue well into the next century.

(2) Financial changes

Closely linked with parental participation is the question of finance. There has been a growing crisis in the finance of education systems, not least in the poorest countries. Between 1980 and 1988 per pupil expenditure fell in the lowest income countries from $50 to $45. It rose in all LDCs from $106 to $129, while in high income countries it rose from $1862 to $2888 (World Bank, 1988). Nevertheless, there has been a tendency to see a levelling off or a decline in the percentage of GNP earmarked for education (See Table 6) largely because of competing demands for social services, healthcare and defense expenditure, at a time of declining resource allocations.

There have been numerous developments in many parts of the world to rationalise educational expenditure (Watson, 1991) many of which have been encouraged by the World Bank. There have been efforts to encourage the growth of the private sector alongside state provision even in countries as diverse as Kenya and Tanzania, Pakistan and Thailand, the Philippines and much of Latin America. Alternatively, the privatisation of certain facilities (food, cleaning, maintenance of grounds and buildings) or the introduction of user fees, even in state education, have become normal. The World Bank has been at great pains to encourage countries in Sub

Saharan Africa to divert funds from higher education to the primary sector because of the excessive costs of higher education and the resulting privileges gained by a few (World Bank, 1990). Other ideas include the encouragement of commercial investment and involvement (World Bank, 1994). Experiments with private universities in traditionally state controlled systems are now being developed in Australia, Britain, Pakistan, Kenya, Uganda and Zimbabwe, while it is likely that India and Malaysia will follow suit. Already 'offshore' campuses and 'twinning' arrangements between universities are well advanced. A trend that has been apparent in recent years and which is likely to gain in momentum during the next decades is the mobility of students across national boundaries. At the school level other arrangements to reduce costs include double or triple shifts; larger classes; longer academic years; the use of auxiliary staff to help teachers, parental contributions for books, furniture and buildings (Colclough & Lewin, 1993). It is not my intention to look into the merits or otherwise of privatization, nor of the different types of private education, nor of the morality of fees. These are trends, however, that are likely to gain in importance during the foreseeable future.

(3) Quality and Academic Standards

Reading the reports on education whether in Hansard, or Carnegie Commission Reports on the USA or World Bank reports on Sub Saharan Africa one is struck by the almost universal belief that educational standards have declined. Any educational historian would point out that similar statements have been made periodically and any classicist could point to similar sentiments echoed in Artistotle's time. But there is a difference now, and it is related to the costs of providing education with the growing recognition that those with the best quality schooling will have a competitive edge. In the USA and the UK every school now has to have a Mission Statement setting out what it is trying to achieve - and for which it can be held accountable. The narrowing down of the curriculum so that basic skills and knowledge should be taught well has become a feature on both sides of the Atlantic (Massaro, 1993). Increased inspections, an emphasis on testing, long a feature of education in Greece, Japan, Sweden and Singapore, have now

become recognised features in many countries, along with league tables showing examination results. The hope is that parental pressures will help to drive up standards. In the USA the so called magnet schools, in England the City Technology Colleges, in China the Little Pagoda Schools, modelled on the specialised language, science and arts schools in Russia, are all designed to act as beacons of excellence. In most developing countries there always have been certain prestigious institutions which have acted as the models for others to emulate. The trouble is that they merely accentuate the gap between rich and poor since to raise the quality of basic primary education will involve major policy decisions to reallocate funds to that sector which many governments simply are not prepared to do or cannot undertake. Nevertheless the issue of academic standards and quality of provision is going to continue well into the 21st Century.

So, also, is one area of the curriculum that has frequently been overlooked. It is not without significance that all the major East Asian countries, as well as Malaysia, have placed values education and moral education as central features of schooling, fearing lest technological changes may destroy their social fabric. It is noteworthy also that these same countries have achieved their remarkable economic success, not by untrammelled free market capitalism but by a judicious partnership between the state and the private sectors. (Harris, 1986). While in the recent educational reforms in Britain religious and moral education have been reinstated as of major significance under recent legislation every state school has to openly acknowledge what values it is seeking to uphold. In an increasingly unstable world the role of schooling in maintaining or restoring some form of moral education may become crucial, especially as the technological revolution gains momentum and dehumanises so much of our societies.

CONCLUSIONS

It would also be possible to highlight trends in the changing role of the teacher, especially what many perceive as the 'deskilling' of teachers in many industrialised countries; in new patterns of higher education, where we are seeing growing

diversity of institutions, more specialised colleges, attempts at reducing the length of courses, thereby cutting costs, and introducing private sector finance. One could also explore the inevitable growth of computers in schools and universities as well as distance education as a means of reaching remote communities. (Hawkridge, 1990). It is also possible to identify the growth of semi independent agencies responsible for examinations, textbook production, the regulation of tertiary education or for controlling student loans. The list is long. Suffice it to say, that this paper has sought to identify some of the extraneous forces and influences that have helped to reduce the political and financial capacities of national and local governments to control and direct their own education systems and that have helped to shape the educational agenda into the 1990s and beyond. It is however, easier to predict where some of these other trends and developments might lead into the next century. It is less easy to identify the educational responses. One fears that we are entering uncharted waters, where change and uncertainty become constants, and where social disintegration becomes inevitable. All those involved in the educational process can only view this scenario with some trepidation.

Let me end, therefore, by quoting the 'Epilogue' from UNESCO's latest World Education Report (1993) (p.89):

> At a time such as the present, when profound changes are occurring in the whole structure of global economic, social and cultural relations, and the role of education in these changes is coming to be recognised as fundamental, all countries can only benefit from knowing more about the cultural premises of each other's education.

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CHART 1

THE DETERMINANTS OF AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM (1)

(The System in relation to its environment)

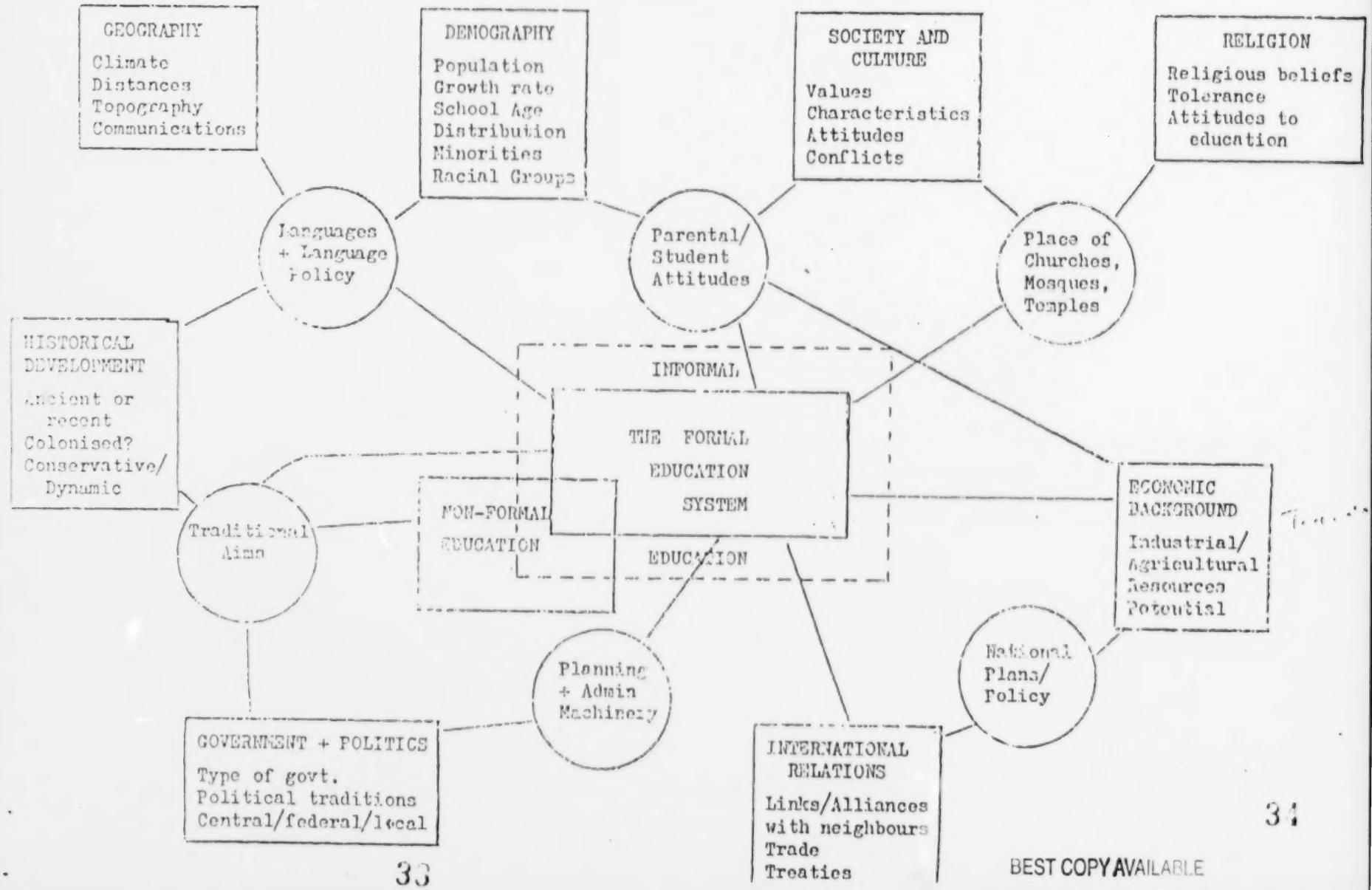

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CHART 2

INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES THAT SHAPE EDUCATION SYSTEMS

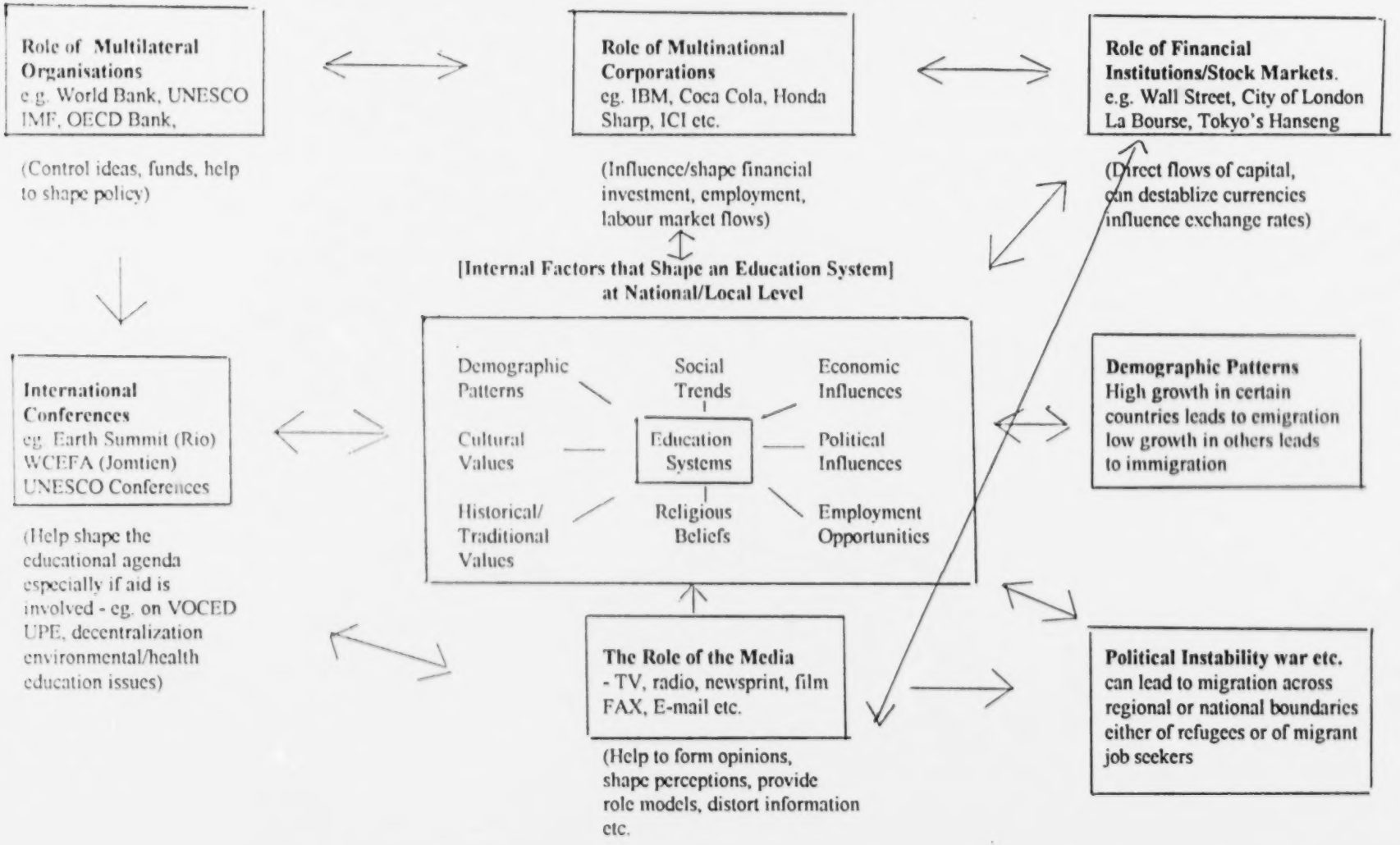
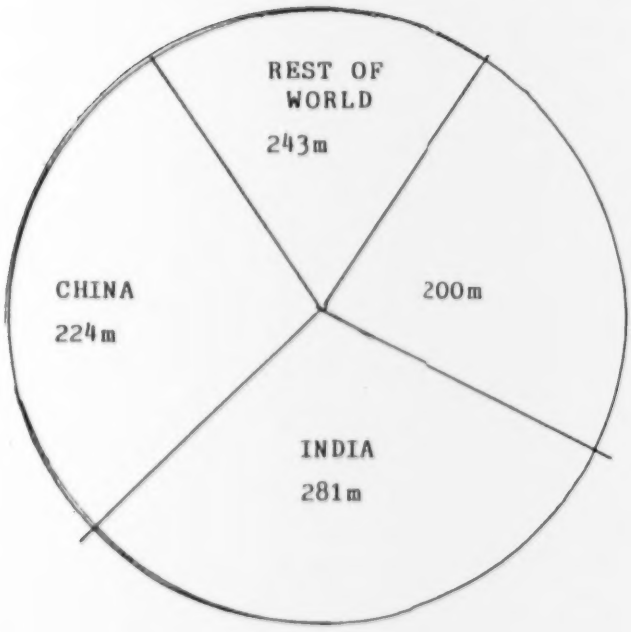

Role of Multilateral Organisations
e.g. World Bank, UNESCO IMF, OECD Bank,
(Control ideas, funds, help to shape policy)
Role of Multinational Corporations
eg. IBM, Coca Cola, Honda Sharp, ICI etc.
(Influence/shape financial investment, employment, labour market flows)
Role of Financial Institutions/Stock Markets.
e.g. Wall Street, City of London La Bourse, Tokyo's Hanseng
(Direct flows of capital, can destablize currencies influence exchange rates)
[Internal Factors that Shape an Education System] at National/Local Level
Demographic Patterns
Social Trends
Economic Influences
Cultural Values
Education Systems
Political Influences
Historical/ Traditional Values
Religious Beliefs
Employment Opportunities
International Conferences
eg. Earth Summit (Rio) WCEFA (Jomtien) UNESCO Conferences
(Help shape the educational agenda especially if aid is involved - eg. on VOCED UPE, decentralization environmental/health education issues)
Demographic Patterns
High growth in certain countries leads to emigration low growth in others leads to immigration
The Role of the Media
- TV, radio, newsprint, film FAX, E-mail etc.
(Help to form opinions, shape perceptions, provide role models, distort information etc.
Political Instability war etc.
can lead to migration across regional or national boundaries either of refugees or of migrant job seekers

CHART 3

ILLITERACY RATES (1990)



PAKISTAN	43
BANGLADESH	42
NIGERIA	29
INDONESIA	27
BRAZIL	18
IRAN	15
SUDAN	10
EGYPT	16

TABLE 1 **THE DEBT PROBLEM**

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA)

W.B. Ranking	Country	Total External Debt as a % of GNP		Interest Payments as a % of Exports	
		1980	1991	1980	1991
1.	Mozambique	0.0	426.0	0.0	10.6
2.	Tanzania	48.3	250.8	19.6	24.6
4.	Uganda	55.1	109.2	17.4	70.0
11.	Sierra Leone	40.7	167.5	23.2	-
14.	Malawi	72.1	78.5	27.7	25.0
20.	Kenya	49.0	89.6	21.8	32.7
21.	Nigeria	10.1	108.8	4.2	25.2
25.	Central African Republic	24.3	71.5	4.9	11.4
35.	Lesotho	11.2	39.2	1.5	4.6
38.	Zimbabwe	14.9	57.0	3.8	27.2
40.	Zambia	90.7	-	25.3	50.3

Source: World Bank (1993) World Development Report

TABLE 2

GNP GROWTH RATES (1980-1991)

	World Bank Ranking	Population (millions)	Per Capita Income (US $)	Average Growth Rate (1980-1991) (%)	Inflation (%)
Middle Income Countries *(LIC)					
China	22	1,49.5	370	7.8	5.8
Thailand	65	57.2	1,570	5.9	3.7
Muaritius	80	1.1	2,410	6.1	8.1
Malaysia	83	18.2	2,520	2.9	3.5
Botswana	84	1.3	2,530	5.6	13.2
Korea	102	43.3	6,330	8.7	5.6
High Income Countries					
Ireland	106	3.5	11,120	3.3	5.8
Spain	109	39.0	12,450	2.8	8.9
Hong Kong	110	5.8	13,430	5.6	7.5
Singapore	111	2.8	14,210	5.3	1.9
U.K.	112	57.6	16,550	2.6	5.8
France	118	57.0	20,380	1.8	5.7
USA	120	252.7	22,240	1.7	4.2
Germany	121	80.1	23,650	2.2	2.8
Sweden	125	8.6	25,110	1.7	7.4
Japan	126	123.9	26,930	3.6	1.5

Table 3
Population and GNP

Country or territory	Population											GNP per capita	
		Average annual growth rate (%)	Density (inhabitants per sq. km)	Dependency ratio						Percentage urban		Average annual growth rate (%)
	Total (000)			Age 0–5		Age 6–14		Age 65 and over			US$	
	1993	1980–93	1993	1980	1993	1980	1993	1980	1993	1993	1990	1980–90
Africa												
Algeria	27 070	2.9	11	43	33	51	45	8	6	52	2 060	– 0.3
Angola	10 276	3.0	8	41	46	44	48	6	6	28	620	6.1
Benin	5 075	3.0	45	43	46	46	48	6	6	38	360	– 1.0
Botswana	1 352	3.2	2	46	39	54	50	11	7	25	2 040	6.3
Burkina Faso	9 788	2.7	36	39	41	44	44	5	6	15	330	1.4
Burundi	5 995	2.9	215	40	43	46	47	7	6	5	210	1.3
Cameroon	12 547	2.9	26	41	39	44	46	7	7	40	940	– 0.3
Cape Verde	395	2.4	98	41	37	55	46	13	8	29	890	3.1
Central African Republic	3 258	2.7	5	37	42	40	46	7	8	47	390	– 1.3
Chad	6 010	2.3	5	36	39	41	43	7	7	32	190	3.3
Comoros	607	3.6	272	46	48	51	52	5	5	28	480	– 0.8
Congo	2 441	3.0	7	42	43	46	46	7	7	40	1 010	– 0.2
Côte d'Ivoire	13 397	3.9	42	45	49	46	51	5	5	40	730	– 3.7
Djibouti	481	3.6	21	41	42	41	46	4	5	81	...	...
Egypt	56 060	2.5	56	32	29	38	39	7	7	44	600	2.1
Equatorial Guinea	379	4.4	14	36	38	40	42	8	7	29	330	...
Ethiopia	54 628	2.7	45	40	45	44	46	5	6	12	120	– 1.2
Gabon	1 279	3.6	5	24	31	29	26	9	10	46	3 220	– 2.6
Gambia	932	2.9	83	38	39	39	44	5	5	23	260	– 0.3
Ghana	16 446	3.3	69	40	41	46	47	5	6	34	390	– 0.6
Guinea	6 306	2.7	26	43	45	46	48	5	5	26	480	...
Guinea-Bissau	1 028	2.0	28	32	36	36	41	7	8	20	180	1.7
Kenya	26 090	3.5	45	53	45	54	53	7	6	24	370	0.3
Lesotho	1 882	2.7	62	36	33	41	43	7	7	19	470	– 0.9
Liberia	2 845	3.3	26	40	43	45	47	7	7	45	...	...
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	5 048	4.0	3	44	41	48	47	4	5	82	5 310	– 9.2
Madagascar	13 259	3.2	23	39	42	44	46	6	6	24	230	– 2.3
Malawi	10 694	4.3	90	47	50	48	51	5	5	12	200	– 0.1
Mali	10 137	3.0	8	44	46	48	48	5	5	24	270	1.2
Mauritania	2 206	2.7	2	39	41	43	45	6	6	47	500	– 1.8
Mauritius	1 109	1.1	544	25	16	36	26	3	8	41	2 250	5.4
Morocco	26 954	2.6	60	37	30	45	39	8	7	46	950	1.6
Mozambique	15 322	1.8	19	38	41	43	45	6	6	27	80	– 4.1
Namibia	1 584	3.1	2	39	41	44	46	6	7	28	...	...
Niger	8 529	3.3	7	45	47	47	50	5	5	19	310	– 4.5
Nigeria	119 328	3.3	129	44	44	47	50	5	5	35	270	– 3.0
Rwanda	7 789	3.2	296	49	50	51	53	5	5	6	310	– 2.2
Sao Tome and Principe	127	2.3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	42	380	– 4.2
Senegal	7 948	2.8	40	42	40	45	46	5	6	40	710	0.0
Seychelles	72	1.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	59	4 670	2.5
Sierra Leone	4 494	2.5	63	39	41	42	44	6	6	32	240	– 1.5
Somalia	9 517	2.7	15	44	46	46	49	6	5	24	150	– 1.8
South Africa	40 774	2.5	33	33	28	39	37	7	7	49	2 520	– 0.9
Sudan	27 407	3.0	11	41	40	44	46	5	6	23	...	...
Swaziland	814	2.8	47	44	35	47	47	6	6	26	820	1.1
Togo	3 885	3.1	68	40	42	45	47	6	6	28	410	– 1.7
Tunisia	8 579	2.3	52	33	25	43	36	7	7	56	1 420	0.9
Uganda	19 246	3.0	82	47	48	50	51	5	5	11	220	0.8
United Rep. of Tanzania	28 783	3.4	30	45	46	50	49	5	5	21	120	– 0.7
Zaire	41 166	3.3	18	43	47	47	50	5	6	28	230	– 1.5
Zambia	8 885	3.4	12	49	46	54	52	5	5	42	420	– 2.9
Zimbabwe	10 898	3.3	28	44	40	53	45	5	5	29	640	– 0.8

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TABLE 4

Enrolment growth rates by level of education, 1970–88 (percentages)

	First level			Second level			Third level			All levels		
	1970–75	1975–80	1980–88	1970–75	1975–80	1980–88	1970–75	1975–80	1980–88	1970–75	1975–80	1980–88
WORLD TOTAL	3.5	1.6	0.9	5.6	3.4	2.1	7.1	3.7	2.6	4.2	2.2	1.4
Developing countries of which:	5.3	2.2	1.1	7.7	5.7	3.1	11.9	7.1	4.5	5.9	3.2	1.8
Sub-Saharan Africa	7.4	9.4	1.8	14.3	14.4	4.3	13.3	14.0	8.1	8.2	10.1	2.3
Arab States	5.7	4.4	4.0	10.2	8.8	5.9	15.1	10.4	5.6	7.0	5.8	4.7
Latin America/Caribbean	5.1	2.9	1.5	3.4	6.9	3.7	17.3	6.0	4.7	5.2	3.8	2.1
Eastern Asia/Oceania	6.9	0.6	-0.8	11.7	5.2	0.7	11.4	15.5	7.3	8.0	1.9	-0.2
Southern Asia	3.6	2.2	3.5	4.6	4.6	6.0	9.5	3.5	1.1	4.1	2.9	4.2
Least developed countries	7.7	5.4	3.5	8.3	5.0	4.5	8.3	11.1	6.8	7.8	5.4	3.8
Developed countries of which:	-1.6	-0.8	0.1	3.2	-0.1	0.2	5.2	1.9	1.3	0.9	-0.2	0.3
Northern America	-2.7	-2.1	0.6	2.2	-1.6	-0.5	5.6	1.7	0.9	0.0	-1.2	0.4
Asia/Oceania	1.2	2.4	-1.9	0.7	1.4	2.1	5.0	1.8	1.2	1.3	1.9	0.1
Europe/USSR	-1.8	-0.8	0.1	3.9	-0.1	-0.1	4.8	2.0	1.7	1.1	-0.2	0.2

TABLE 6

Public expenditure on education, 1970–88

	US$ (billions)					Percentage of GNP				
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1988	1970	1975	1980	1985	1988
WORLD TOTAL	171.2	348.6	617.3	687.4	1 023.7	5.5	5.8	5.5	5.6	5.5
Developing countries of which:	14.5	40.9	94.6	97.6	125.8	2.9	3.6	3.8	4.0	4.1
Sub-Saharan Africa	1.3	4.0	11.0	8.0	7.1	3.1	3.8	4.9	4.3	4.5
Arab States	1.8	8.4	18.0	23.8	27.7	5.0	5.9	4.4	6.0	6.4
Latin America/Caribbean	5.6	13.6	32.7	28.6	38.9	3.3	3.6	3.9	4.0	4.4
Eastern Asia/Oceania	2.6	6.3	15.5	19.9	24.4	1.9	2.3	2.7	3.2	2.9
Southern Asia	2.2	5.3	12.8	14.8	24.0	2.6	3.0	4.0	3.4	3.6
Least developed countries	0.5	1.1	2.2	2.5	3.0	2.6	2.6	3.1	3.3	3.3
Developed countries of which:	156.7	307.7	522.7	589.8	897.9	6.0	6.4	6.0	6.0	5.8
Northern America	83.0	131.3	201.8	293.3	365.7	7.5	7.4	6.7	6.7	6.8
Asia/Oceania	10.2	35.0	73.0	79.7	158.9	4.1	5.7	5.8	5.2	5.0
Europe/USSR	63.5	141.4	247.9	216.8	373.3	5.1	5.7	5.5	5.5	5.4